seeds of prickly palmettos. They pile these in a mortar, boil them in water from time to time, and press them as stated above. Others occupy cotton, which occupation they resume at night by the fire. They also take care of the sick, and for that they apply themselves to learning the medicinal plants which are good for the illnesses. They have some excellent remedies which are very effective. We will someday know more about them, if it pleases God. Nevertheless, neither the men nor the women wear themselves out with work.

CHAPTER IX

Their Drinking Parties

We will not call them feasts because they only hold their debaucheries to drink and to get drunk, both the men and women. They just call them ouicou, which is the drink that they make from cassava, as strong as they can for these occasions. They hold them nearly every day in various places for various reasons. The most famous drinking party is for war. They hold one when the man and woman have their first male child. They likewise celebrate when they cut off all the hair of their children for the first time. Also when their boys are growing up and attain their adolescence they make them fast, and then hold a celebration. The young men in question capture a Manifénix or merlin or some other bird of prey and feed it for some time preceding the celebration. Then, everybody being assembled, the father of the young man takes the bird and kills it on the head of his son, and having crushed and ground the body of the bird, puts it into water. Then, after slashing the body of his son with agouti teeth or something else until the blood comes, he bathes and rubs him with this water. Afterwards they make the young man lie very straight in a bed which is hung from the top of the hut, and he must maintain this posture, or else (they imagine) he will become deformed. If he should bend over, he would remain bent, if he should bend a leg, the leg would always remain bent. They also make him fast for too long a time. Next, they dry the heart and feet of the bird and hang them around his neck. For some, who are stronger, they mix a great deal of pimento with the water of which we spoke, and make them eat the bird's heart, and imagine that that will make the boys valiant.

valiant. At some of these drinking parties they add the refinement of asking four of the company to dance. These, after [87] smearing themselves with a watery glue, cover themselves with down, which sticks to their flesh by means of this gum. Having entered into the place of the debauch, each of them is presented with a large gourd full of ouicou which he must drink. If one cannot down it all, the others squeeze his belly until he vomits what he has taken. Then he drinks the rest, and dances afterwards.

They hold one sort of feast which seems to have a little virtue and humanity also. When they have caught a tortoise or other fish of note they invite one of their relatives or friends to come eat part of it. When the guest arrives, the person responsible for receiving him hangs a hammock for him (note that their custom is to put a member of the household in charge of receiving visitors), and invites him to sit on it, which he does without saying a word. Then the women bring him cassava on a matoutou (if the cassava is spread out it means that he eats what he wants and then takes what is left with him; if it is folded, it means that having eaten his full, he leaves the rest) or meat or ouicou. The husband of the woman who serves him says: 'Here is some cassava or ouicou for you.' The other replies: yao, 'good' (this is their: thank you). While he is eating no one interrupts him, and only the one who invited him or the one who received him speaks to him. Having eaten, he says: 'Here is your matoutou, here is your couï [calabash dish].' The other has it taken away and goes to all the men present. 'Let us,' he says, 'greet him.' All go to do so, one after another. The women scarcely participate in this, and only say: keléatibou [chiléétibou] (1), 'have you come?' After that they

1. According to Moreau de Jonnès, who visited the Caribs of Saint Vincent, this expression means: 'welcome.'

chat and drink together. They lift their glass, saying: 'to you'—and the other answers: yao, 'good.'

They practice those ceremonies for all unexpected visitors, except that they do not hang beds except for the most notable. The latter's hair is oiled and cared for by the women both as he enters and as

796 There are few Caribs who have women and children who do not participate in the eléotiac feast, for it is one of their most solemn. It sometimes takes four months to prepare for it. The hair of the women and children is shaved close to their temples. At this feast they begin to feed fish to their small children. They do not permit their children to eat fish for a long time, because of the fish bones and also because fish causes colic and stomach cramps. The elders and the married men bring birds of prey. The children bring in little birds, and the married men bring big and full grown birds that they have taken from their nests and reared for this ceremony. The captain is invited to perform. He takes the birds and beats the heads of the birds against the heads of the performers so that they are bloody. He gashes both the children and the older men. He puts the children into their hammocks where they must remain without eating, and they must keep the position which he has given them. If they do not remain in this position it is believed that they will become hunch-backed or deformed according to the new position they might take. The birds of the married men are crushed if they have had children or have killed some Arawaks. With a quantity of black pepper or pimento, they rub their wounds. You can imagine how cold they are! In order to restore them they are given the heart of their bird to eat, but nothing more. Fearing that this may cause some indigestion, the [218] next morning they go to a drinking pot full of a tobacco liquid and drink long drafts of it which makes them vomit everything. [202]

[ ] They have a feast in which the smallest children begin to eat [ ]fish. The older children have their ears pierced and their hair cut. [ ][385] The ioubénene is the man who incises them at their feasts and [ ]is considered as their godfather. [191] There are certain people who [ ]are asked to make small wicker tables, baskets carried on the back, and other utensils necessary for the feast called eléotiac. [317]

341 Among all the guests there are six or eight who rub their bodies with elemi gum that is still fresh from the tree. They give on small feathers and down from the bird called Festu en Queue. They crown their heads with long feathers of the Aras [macaw?] bird. Then they 535 ● 213 dance two by two around the carbet. One extends his right arm on the shoulders of another who in turn passes his left arm around the neck of his companion. The others follow in a like manner. Dancing two by two, they arrive at the place where there are big calabashes full

Ouycou ouicou [kind of beer]. They must drink it to the last drop, even
● 278 if they are ready to burst. I have seen some almost choke, become
pale and uncertain, and a Carib embraced them from behind to
relieve them. He tightened their stomachs so hard that they vomited
a part of it, but this was only to make room for more ouicou. [303]

[538] The Carib women only sing when they are drunk. They usually
sing only one song, and this is sung so badly that we should weep
635 rather than laugh. When the women attempt to dance they are in no
danger of getting pleurisy because they do not exert themselves
jumping. The young people, married and unmarried, sometimes join
together and pass entire nights in dancing, without daring to step out
of superstitious motivations. A woman takes a calabash full of peas
or pebbles which rattle, and all dance to the cadence of this sound.
Now and then they yell such sharp cries that it is startling. It is worse
when the men perform a dance after having eaten Arawak. They
make much more noise. A man carries a calabash at the end of a
long pole and marching in front he makes it rattle. All the others
follow him. Sometimes they are in a line and sometimes in a circle,
in motion and not holding hands. At the same time they all have
their left hand on their head and their right hand on their buttocks.
Next, the right moves to their head and their left hand moves to their
buttocks, and this continues. Joined with these movements is shuffling
with their feet together which is very painful, yet they never jump or
leave their position. [369]

[513] For their feasts they have twelve to fifteen large pots which hold
as much as the same number of our casks would hold when filled with
Sq drink. [119] When they wrestle the Caribs do not use body holds but only
hold each other by the arm above the elbow. They give each other
such jerks that one of the wrestlers, one day in my presence, was
thrown to the ground by his adversary and stayed there more than a
quarter of an hour before he regained consciousness. This exercise is
common among them but only at their drinking parties. [368]

316 When a pirogue is made people are asked to help drag it down
from the mountain to the sea. They are invited to the feast which
follows. In this country if there is no feast, there is no work party.
[144]

241 To clear land for a garden the Caribs have work parties. They cut off branches, pile up wood and leaves, and burn off the land in order to prepare it for planting. These work parties are organized in the following way. They have a drinking party in which all the strong men are requested to join in the work. Later that morning they fell a square patch of wood 100 to 200 feet on a side. The wood is knocked on the ground in disorder. They drink the rest of the day and the following night as payment. Six weeks later they set fire to the field at noon when the breeze blows. They set the fire on the side of the field to the wind, and the greater part of the refuse is burned. Then they hold another drinking party in order to pick up and complete what is left to be done. They hold work parties also in other situations and replace by this means the absence of servants and laborers which are unknown among them. [86] At their feasts they eat as little as they drink much. [71]

694 When the Caribs have completed their tasks on a work party they have a drinking party where drink is served by the man who has sent for them. When they have drunk everything they go to their host and say "My friend, I leave. I have drunk all the drink which you have prepared in return for my labor. Good-by." [302]

283 The Caribs do not prevent either men or women from becoming drunk. But they do not allow men to seduce other men's wives, while these women are drunk. [319]

The Caribs are so vile in their drunkenness that when they feel themselves to be too full they turn their head aside and often even without leaving their place in the company, they put their fingers into their mouths to bring up everything they had swallowed. [223]

627 Vengeance rules among the Caribs, but it is only carried out at their drinking parties. The offended person is careful to remain sober in order to better the success of his plan. He is not punished for his deed if he has done it to avenge the death of one of his relatives. But if he has unjustly killed a man, it will not fail to pass that sooner or later the relatives of the dead man will put him to death, unless the murderer quickly flees to another island. [370]

252 When it seems doughy and has been turned over once it is cooked and they put it to dry on a mat of reeds or on a sloping plank. Then it is stored and they keep it as long as they wish. If stored cassava has become too hard they soften it in a plate full of water to which lime or lemon juice, salt and pimento have been freely added. It draws water like a sponge, especially if no water was added to the cassava when it was made. [355] The women take the cassava off the griddle with a piece of tortoise shell. [460]

● 273 Women chew the cassava out of which they make ouicou before they put it in their pots. They are asked to do so whenever a drinking party is to be held. This is very disgusting; however the beer turns out to be much better. The expression "chew ouicou" is used for this process. When they don't chew cassava, a different expression is used. [117]

They grate sweet potatoes which they let spoil. Sometimes they make a kind of ouicou out of these grated sweet potatoes which they call camaleite. [107]

With unpressed flour the Caribs make cassava loaves which are about six inches thick and half baked. They place them on banana leaves laid on a plank and sprinkle them with sea water. Having wrapped them in these leaves they leave them for eight days. By this time the loaves are red. They knead them, wrap them again, and keep them for two months. After this period they make a very strong ouicou. I once drank a quantity equivalent to two glasses of this kind of ouicou and I had its fumes with me all day long so strongly that it was as if I had drunk a great deal of the best burgundy of Beaune. [302]

When the manioc has been uprooted, stored, and brewed into a drink, the next day it is passed around, and the day after it is drunk. The women have a sieve which is not finely meshed. They put it over the opening of a pot. Having mixed ouicou in this jar they pour it through the sieve into calabashes. There is some of the mash left which they throw to the animals. It is at the same time a food and drink. What seemed very disgusting to me is that they have four or [301] five cotton threads passed through their noses and also threads through their lower lip. Before the calabash reaches their mouth, these cotton trinkets fall into it and ouicou mash clings to them, trickles down, and really disgusts all who are not accustomed to it. [119]

252 Camagnem is a root similar to manioc but it is nonpoisonous. They roast it on coals and then eat it like sweet potatoes, but it is not so good as the sweet potato. [107]

The sweet potatoes, called mabi, is the mana of these islands, and having it one cannot die of hunger. Sweet potatoes are not subject to the ravages of hurricanes, in contrast to manioc which is sometimes ruined by them. The roots and leaves of sweet potatoes are edible and the ends of the sprouts may be eaten like asparagus. A meal would not be complete without sweet potatoes. One cooks them like chestnuts, whose taste they resemble, either in a kettle or under the ashes. The stems and leaves are so nourishing that two bundles of them per day are sufficient to feed the biggest pigs kept in pens. [342]

The yam is called namoüin or couchou. It is a big root from which the Caribs make bread and a fermented drink. They cook it as they do a sweet potato. [365] Sweet potatoes and other roots good to eat are called oüle. [421]

Two months after maize is seeded it is grown. The Caribs gather it, roast it on coals, and eat it. Out of maize the Galibis make palinot which is as good as beer. The French use it to feed poultry, although some put it in their flour, mixed half and half with French wheat. This makes a good bread with a pleasing flavor. It is called márichi, or aoüáchi. [355]

Island peas, called mancónti, come up in a short time and are much easier to digest than our varieties. They have different kinds -- white, black, red, and seven-year peas. Out of these they make a reddish soup verging on black. [352]

Sugar cane is used by the Caribs who strip off the leaves and pound the stems in a pestle. Then they put them in a pot full of water. They make a good drink which they have after it is well boiled. [167]

The term for a bunch of figs or bananas is lacálla. I don't know why we call bananas bunches of figs, probably because this fruit is numerous and well ordered. [102]

262 The carratas is a kind of fruit which the Caribs use to quench their thirst when they are far from water. A good juice could be made out of it. The fruit is abundant and grows along one elongated stem, and is so closely set one upon another that it is difficult to take off the first one. [110]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

of the chiefs, who gave notice several days in advance so that food and drink could be prepared. The feast took place in the carbet, but both men and women, dressed in their best, participated. They spent all day and most of the night in eating, drinking, singing, and dancing, usually becoming quite drunk.

Both men and women participated in the singing, not only at the feasts but also to pass the time of day. Most songs had to do with warfare; others dealt with birds, fish, and women.

Dancing seems to have been confined to the feasts (pl. 95). Men and women performed alone or together. They moved in a circle, dancing in pairs, arm in arm. The men performed violently, but the women moved only their feet. The dances were accompanied by songs, the drum, the rattle, a stringed instrument, and the flute. The drum, hollowed from a log, had a single head of skin. The rattle consisted of a gourd with a wooden handle. The stringed instrument, too, was of gourd; it had a single string. The flutes were made of bamboo or the bones of an enemy.[8]

Carib men played flutes in the morning, while their wives prepared breakfast. They used conch-shell trumpets for signaling while on raids or when hunting or fishing; at night they also had recourse to signal flares.

Intoxicants and narcotics.—They were fond of drinking and made several different kinds of beer (oüicou) from sweetpotatoes or from a mixture of sweetpotatoes and manioc. The women chewed this material, allowed it to ferment for several days, and then strained it. They also brewed beer from the coarser manioc bread which they laid aside until it became mouldy.

The *Carib* smoked tobacco, rolling it into cigars like those of the *Arawak*.[9] There is no mention of snuff, but tobacco chewing was common. The *Carib* dried the leaves over the fire, softened them with sea water, and kneaded them into rolls which served as money. Before chewing they added ashes and packed the quid between the lip and gum.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

The *Carib* believed in a plurality of souls, which they associated with the beating of the heart and arteries. The soul in the heart was supposed to go to an earthlike paradise in heaven, where it became part of a company of good spirits, or akamboue.[10] The souls in the rest of the body either stayed in the bones after death or went into the forests or seashores. They were regarded as evil spirits, maboya; those in the sea had a special name, omicou.

[8] Neither the drum nor the stringed instrument is mentioned in all the sources. They may have been historic developments.

[9] Labat (1931, p. 88) observed men smoking for pleasure. Davies (1666, p. 346), however, describes only the use of tobacco by shamans during curing ceremonies.

[10] Some believed that the paradise was on earth rather than in the heavens and that only the successful warriors went there, the rest of the people being freed to live after death in another and more barren land.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

and to which pimentos, onions, fish, or ciriques (land crabs sp.) have been added. This sauce is used to moisten and season the otherwise insipid cassava bread. The noxious character of the manioc juice disappears in the boiling. 252

The unbaked manioc meal is sometimes sweetened with sugarcane juice, spiced, and then wrapped in plantain leaves, tied into little packages, and boiled to form a sort of dumpling known as "canqui."

Fond of liquor as the Caribs undoubtedly are, they no longer make any native drink (unless it be illicit rum), nor have they done so, it seems, for a considerable time. There are those, however, who remember an old man who used to make a beverage from the glou-glou palm and from that known to the Caribs as yattahou (*Acrocomia sclerocarpa*, and *Syagrus amaro* (?) respectively), but they were unable to tell me how it was made. 273

Pestle and mortar are indispensable utensils in any Carib home. With them are ground coffee, cocoa, castor-oil nuts, and everything else that has to be reduced to powder or paste. The former is club-shaped and about 3½ feet long, the latter being in the form of a jar some 2½ feet in height and 10 inches across the mouth. Both are made of any hard heavy wood such as white cedar or "tan" (*Byrsonima* sp.). 415

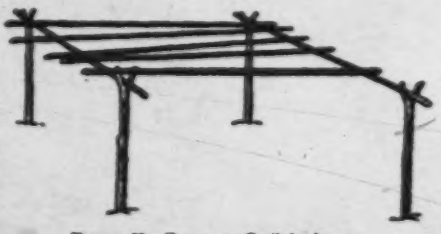

FIGURE 33.—Boucan or Carib barbecue.

Inside or outside of every Carib kitchen stands one or several boucan (fig. 33) (whence "buccaneer"), ready for smoke drying an excess of fish or game, which, thus preserved, will keep anywhere from a month to a year. Sticks of guépois (*Myrcia leptoclada* D. G.) or of bois d'Inde (*Pimenta acris* Sw.) are most often used for this purpose, and are stuck in the ground so as to form an erection some 2½ feet high resembling two football goals about 4 feet apart, across which other sticks are laid to form a grid. 417 251

A primitive type of cane press, also common to Guiana, is to be found outside nearly all the houses in the reserve (fig. 34). It consists of a thick post stuck in the ground. A cavity is hollowed out near the top, and a hole pierced, through which a lever passes. The cane, placed transversely across the mouth of the cavity, is crushed by the lever being brought down on successive sections, thus expressing the juice, which runs down grooves into a waiting receptacle. "Vesou" (sugarcane juice) is a cheap and ever-ready sweetening matter for coffee, cocoa, etc. 257

Despite its name, the terrine is a wooden bowl (rather like the modern salad bowls), which was and sometimes still is used for wash- 415

291 against insect bites, but which gave them the appearance, as many
[302] travellers reported, of a boiled crayfish. Later their dress consisted, for both sexes, of a cord passed around the body, holding a loin-cloth smaller than a pocket-handkerchief. The men and the young boys
[412] always wore a sharpened knife between the cord and the thigh. Today the surviving Caribs lack picturesqueness; in contact with the white
[177] and black creoles, they have taken over their clothing. The men wear trousers and a shirt; the women wear a long dress of a light color, similar to those in which the negresses dress. Like the latter, their heads are covered with a madras kerchief. Only the children of both sexes go about clothed in a short shirt or completely naked. Former-
[304] ly it was the custom, shortly after birth, to deform their heads by flattening the skulls by means of a small board.

301 The Carib women do not actually seem very coquettish, and wear few ornaments, though at the time when the roucou was their only piece of clothing, they did not neglect ornaments; they adorned themselves with necklaces, and bracelets, and at adolescence they wove for themselves a kind of legging which they wore around the leg between the calf and the ankle, and which they never took off. Even the men adorned themselves, on important occasions, with metal ornaments called caracoli, which they wore in their ears, nostrils, lower lips, and on the chest, not to speak of the black stripes which they sometimes painted on their faces and bodies or the multicolored plumes with which they adorned themselves.

157 The Caribs are not very expausive and melancholy is the basis of their character; their faces bear the mark of sadness and disdain. They are vindictive, and never forget their injuries, and are particularly formidable when they are under the influence of alcoholic
[273] drinks (1), for which they have a great weakness. Cherishing their

1. Before the Europeans brought alcohol to them, they made themselves a fermented beverage, called ouycou.

independence above all, servitude is distasteful to them and they do not wish to lose their liberty at any price. /137/ Merciless toward their enemies, they are kind and generous to their friends and are
462 very cordial in the exercise of hospitality. Of an unconcerned disposition, the men spend entire days in doing nothing, asleep in their

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

they liked for a further period of two or three months, and thereafter only continued to abstain from certain activities and meats for some time.

When the child began to be given fish to eat at about the age of two years, its hair was cut for the first time ceremonially, and its mother's temples shaved. The piercing of its ears, etc., apparently also took place at this ceremony (nikulukáyanų, nùbukaétių) which, according to Breton's description, was held concurrently with an elétuak festival.

The latter appears to have been a family rather than a tribal affair, although intended for the carrying out of all the *rites de passage*, such as initiation of infants (into the tribe) and adolescents (into manhood), and for the purification and reintegration of those who had for the first time become parents or had killed an enemy.

> Il y a peu de Sauvages qui ayent femmes et enfans, qui ne fassent ce festin icy, qui est un de leurs plus solemnels: ils sont quelque fois des quatre mois à s'y préparer, on y rase le poil des tempes aux femmes, et à leur petits enfans ausquels on commence d'y faire manager du poisson.

Besides large quantities of wiku to be prepared for the feathered dancers (eletuakátių táomáliti) and guests, basketry tables (matútu) and other utensils for the rites must be made, and those asked to help by making them (itawánəmuku) repaid for their trouble by a special drinking-party (itehwennə). Moreover, after the elétuak festival all such articles were held to be fair plunder for the guests.

The name, elétuak, appears to connote *a putting out from* or *forth-putting*, (cf. éleletuába *incise! let* [*blood*]*!* < éle *power, strength;* and as a stem: *choose, extend, endure:* élele *speech* or *flame;* átu[ra] [*to*]*put forth);* and the essential part of the rites performed on these occasions consisted in blood-letting.[6] Breton goes on to describe them thus:

> . . . les grands, voire les mariez apportent quand et eux des oyseaux de rapine, les petits des petits, les mariez des gros et grands qu'ils ont pris dans le nid et nourris pour ce mystère. Le capitaine qui est prié pour cela prend les oyseaux et leur casse la teste sur leurs testes qui en restent ensanglantées. Il incise les petits et les grands, mène les petits dans leurs lits qui y doivent demeurer sans manger, et en la posture qu'il leur donne, sans laquelle ils croyent qu'ils demeureroient bossus ou contrefais, suivant celle qu'ils prendroient dans ce lit [i. e. hammock]. On écrase les oyseaux des grands (s'ils ont eu enfant, ou s'ils ont tué quelque Arroüague) avec quantité de gros grains de poivre [*Capsicum*], ou pimant [< Carib, boémwę *Capsicum* <

6 Hunters still make razor cuts in their arms to improve their luck, while incision and cupping are practised to relieve pain.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

of the words black-listed by Breton as "point mots Sauvages," he himself gives what is probably the parent Carib form under "*coui à boire* couáikeu," phonetically [ˈkwɛkɛ̃].

Rouse omits to mention two important classes of kitchen utensils: the mortar (ánna), and the manioc trough (batáia), both carved out of single pieces of wood, the latter being just as important to the manioc complex as the stone-chip grater (eše), the basketry squeezer (rukúma) and sifter (híbiše), and the cassava-plate or griddle (butáli).

"Corn, sweetpotatoes, yams, beans, and peppers also were cultivated, the corn being made into bread as among the *Arawak*." Rouse elsewhere mentions corn beer.[28] Corn is and apparently always was of very secondary importance to the Carib, and it seems doubtful whether the Carib ever made much use of bread or beer made from it. Breton has this to say about it:

> After it has grown, that is to say two months after it has been sown, the Savages gather and roast it on the coals, then eat it. The Galibi make from it a fermented drink which is not inferior to beer. The French use it to feed poultry, while some turn it into flour, which they mix with an equal quantity of wheat flour, and make with this a fine bread which tastes quite good.[29]

Breton elsewhere describes at length the making of cassava-beer (uéku), and speaks of a beverage of boiled cassavas in connection with the couvade. On the other hand, the only use made of corn by the modern Dominica Carib is that described in the first sentence of the above quotation from Breton. Botanists usually describe yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) as of Old World origin, but it now seems certain that a species of *Dioscorea trifida*, known to the Carib as kúšu, and formerly much employed by them, was American. Two other food plants, not listed by Rouse but fairly important to the Carib of Breton's day and at the present time, are *Xanthosoma* spp. (uáho) and pumpkin (uauáiama). By "guayba," Rouse presumably means *guava*, Carib: kuiábu.

We are told that hammocks were "made of a network of cotton thread," and that "the weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of Carib culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword shaped stick."[30] Breton, on the other hand, describes the

28 *Handbook*, pp. 551-557.
29 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
30 *Handbook*, pp. 552, 555.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X 824

CYPERACEAE. Sedge Family.

Dichromena ciliata Vahl, Enum. 2: 240. 1805.

Rynchospora pura Griseb., Fl. Br. W. I. 577. 1864.

Z'Herbes Paillasse, Zeb Paillasse.

A common and attractive sedge of the West Indies and continental tropical America. In Dominica the plant may be found in grassy places at lower and middle elevations.

[352] The whole plant is dried by the Carib and is then used as a stuffing for mattresses.

Specimen citation: 3214

PALMAE. Palm Family.

Acrocomia aculeata (Jacquin) Loddiges ex Martius, Hist. Nat. Palm. 3: 286. 1843.

Acrocomia lasiospatha Griseb., Fl. Br. W. I. 521. 1864, in part, *non* Martius.

Acrocomia sclerocarpa Duss, Fl. Phan. Ant. Franc. 489. 1897, *non* Martius.

Glou-glou. — *isudla*[3] (cf. Tupi *yacari*).

The glou-glou palm is the type species of the genus and as far as is known occurs only on low drier coastal areas on Dominica and Martinique.

[262 223] The small edible fruits possess a coconut-like pulp. Until recently a sort of wine was made by tapping the young inflorescence shoot («heart») near the base and allowing the collected juice to ferment. Breton (7) records an early use of the sharp [283] spines of *isudla*: «... the spines, long as the finger, are used by the Carib in cording cotton».

Specimen citation: 3133.

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[3] This should not be confused with a montane palm, *Euterpe globosa* Gaertn., whose patois name, yaula or Gaula, seems to stem from this Carib name for the glou-glou palm.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X 824 **Cocos nucifera** Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 1188. 1753.
Coconut Palm. — *palwma* (from Spanish *palma*).

The cocenut palm is grown on all tropical coasts. Its center of origin is controversial although the plant is probably native to the Old World. Hundreds of uses are recorded for various parts of this plant, which is considered the most valuable of all palms. DU TERTRE (15) records the species as established in the French Antilles in the seventeenth century.

Coconuts are an important product of Dominica and several estates have been devoted to their culture. The Creoles utilize [272 262] the green « jelly nuts » as a refreshing drink and the flesh of the mature fruits for food and oil. The husks supply a fiber, coir, [283] employed for local cordage.

Coconuts are cultivated by the Island Caribs who use the large [342 252] leaves for thatch, and the endosperm as a source of food and oil. The latter is obtained by grating and boiling the flesh of the nuts.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Euterpe dominicana L. H. Bailey, Gent. Herb. 4: 375. 1940.
Palmiste, Palmiste franc, Manicol. — *wése.*

A tall slender palm endemic to Dominica and common throughout moist mountain forests, chiefly at middle elevations.

Often felled by Caribs and other woodsmen for the sake of [262] the palatable coeur-palmiste (« cabbage » or « heart ») which they extract from the cylindrical crown of the tree, and which is eaten either raw or boiled. The leaves of young specimens, folded and [342] plaited, are used for thatch. Ridge-caps (or covers) for dwellings are sometimes made from the wood of this palm by merely splitting the trunk in two. The rotted trunk serves as a refuge [262] for the fat white edible grub (*sémbe* [11]) of the palm beetle (*Calandra palmarum* Fabric.). The reddish colored prop-roots (racines palmiste) of this palm are cut, peeled and scraped, then split [285 481] into two or three strands and utilized for the manufacture of shoulder carry-alls (*tidla*, literally « a basketry lattice or trellis-work »). The making of palm wine from this species has been [273]

[11] Although the grub of the palm beetle is more frequent in this palm of the mountain forests, it also lives in the rotten boles of the coastal *tétaka* (*Rhyticocos amara*). JACQUIN (33) also records the roasting of this « delicious » insect morsel, which is often eaten raw or roasted by the modern Carib.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

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claimed (15). However, all recent palm wine has been derived [273] from the glou-glou, *Acrocomia aculeata*.

Specimen citation: 3255, 3494, 3675.

Geonoma dominicana L. H. Bailey, Gent. Herb. 4: 323. 1939.
Geonoma pinnatifrons var. *vaga* Burret, Engl. Bot. Jahrb. 63: 213. 1930.
Yanga.

A palm endemic to Dominica and occasional in mountain rain forests at middle elevations.

The leaves of this small reed-like palm constitute one of the [342] Island Carib's best thatching materials, but the species is not plentiful. The petiole is notched below the leaf blade, and is hooked over the thatching rod; the leaves are then arranged layer above layer until the ridgepole is reached.

Specimen citation: 307, 1987, 2787.

Geonoma hodgeorum L. H. Bailey ex Hodge, The Caribbean Forester 3: 108. 1942.
Yanga.

A small endemic palm found in mossy-forests at the summits of Dominica's highest peaks.

This species of yanga is similar in habit to the preceding [342] species and may also be used for thatching.

Specimen citation: 1430, 2835.

Rhyticocos amara (Jacquin) Beccari, Malph. 1: 350. t. 9. fig. 2. 1886.
Syagrus amara Martius Hist. Nat. Palm. 3 (1845) 291, t. 166, fig. 2.
Overtop Palm. — Coco Nain, Yattahou. — *Ititaho.*

This coastal species is recorded in the Lesser Antilles from Montserrat to St. Lucia. In Dominica it occurs most abundantly along the windward coast.

The young plaited leaves of the Overtop Palm, like those of [342] *Euterpe dominicana* are used by the Indians for thatch [12].

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[12] This was very likely the thatching material used in the coastal villages of the Caribs of Guadeloupe at the time of Columbus' second voyage. Chanca

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

X 824 [262] ●223] [263] [387] [252] The « cabbage », though edible, is apparently not eaten by the Caribs, but in former days it was apparently tapped as a source of a wine (7). The orange-colored fruits were used formerly in making a fermented drink ; while the kernels, though rather bitter, are often eaten by Carib children. The kernels were also made into an oil which was mixed with the red color from the seeds of *Bixa orellana* to form body paint. The oil was probably extracted, as is coconut oil locally today, by grating and boiling the endosperm of the nuts.

Specimen citation : 3361, 3699.

CYCLANTHACEAE. Cyclanthus Family.

Carludovica spp.

Z'Ailes Mouche, Langue Boeuf [of Breton (7)]. — *munuriali* (« twin leaf »).

Two Lesser Antillean species of this genus — terrestrial *C. insignis* Duchass., and scandent *C. plumieri* Kunth (the latter is more common) — are found in the wet mountain rainforests of Dominica.

[342] Carib hunters often cover their temporary overnight shelters or ajoupas (*kabé* [13]) with the broad bifurcate leaves of these

records that the Indian houses were made of straw while Ybarra (69), commenting on this use, states that Chanca had made a mistake for (quoting Ybarra) : « ... though the houses of the native Indians of the Antilles may have had the appearance of being built of straw, they were most exclusively made of the component parts of the Royal Palm (*Roystonea regia* Cook)... ». If any of the several species of Royal Palm was used as a source of thatch in the Lesser Antilles it was not the Cuban Royal Palm mentioned by Ybarra but rather the Caribbee Royal Palm, *Roystonea oleracea* (Jacq.) Cook. Although described originally from Barbados the natural range of this palm is still unknown. It may have occurred in Guadeloupe and Dominica and is found as an ornamental in Dominica today. It has not been seen by us in unquestionably natural sites nor in numbers suitable for large scale thatching. On the other hand the Overtop Palm is a native coastal palm of these isles and as such would have been more readily available to Indian villages than any other local thatch-yielding palm. However Chanca may have been correct as to straw construction, for the stems of roseau (*Gynerium*) were formerly employed by the Caribs in wattle-work (7).

[13] Kabé is the local pronunciation, carbet the conventional (French) spelling, *taboi*, or *kabaí* the Carib word for « shelter » or « hall ».

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Caillinago ST13

[824] The tubers of *X. Atroviaceus* Koch & Bouché [262] and *X. violaceum* Schott constitute one of the staple starchy foods of Dominica while the young leaves of *X. brasiliense* (Desr.) Engl. are one of the prime ingredients of the famed « calalu » soup, a popular Creole dish.

[252] The Caribs cultivate tanias both as a food and green. When prepared as a green the « heart » (the unopened leaves) is boiled and eaten. Other authors (7) (15) mention a red-ribbed leaf variety, [189 274] « chou poivré », whose juice the Caribs rubbed on themselves as a charm when going to war. Leaves of the red-ribbed variety, [278] known today as chou froidure (pronounced « chou fwedi »), are made into an infusion used against chills; and the same variety is an ingredient in another tea discussed under *Myrcia citrifolia*.

Specimen citation: 2466.

BROMELIACEAE. Pineapple Family.

Ananas comosus (Linnaeus) Merrill, Interpr. Rumph. Amb. 133. 1917.

Ananas sativus Schultes f. ex. R. & S. Syst. 7: 1283. 1830.

Ananas ananas Cockerell, Proc. U. S. Nat. Mus. 19: 776. 1897.

Ananas, Pineapple. — *idiana* (« prickly »); *kurdua* (fiber-yielding variety).

A native of Brazil, the pineapple has been widely cultivated for its fruits in the tropics and subtropics of both the New and the Old World. Strong white fibers, which are utilised for cloth in various parts of the world, are obtained from the leaves (22). The Barama River Caribs make an alcoholic drink from the grated pulp. First mention of the pineapple is by Peter Martyr who records its discovery by Columbus on Guadeloupe in 1493 (21).

[262 273 278] Several types are cultivated by the Caribs of Dominica. The fruit is eaten; a fermented beverage is made from the peeled skins steeped in water; while the fruit itself, as well as this drink, is considered to be good for urinary complaints. The small, [287] green, immature fruit or its juice is, on the other hand, well known to these aborigines as an abortive agent.

[283] La pite (Carib: *kurdua*[16]), an important cultivated fiber plant

[16] Dr. L. B. Smith has determined that la pite of Dominica is not a species of *Bromelia* as was at first thought but actually a species of *Ananas*, most

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

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[273]
[342]
[285]

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Dominica Carib plants, a trio of palms. — Fig. 15 – The glou-glou, *Aiouea oculata*, formerly utilized as a «wine» palm by the Caribs, with some of its edible fruits (insert). — Fig. 16 – Specimens of a species of yanga, *Geonoma hodgeorum*, typical of a thatch-yielding palm, from Morne Trois Pitons. — Fig. 17 – Flowering stalks and edible heart or «cabbage» (center) of the Dominica palmiste, *Euterpe dominicensis*. — Fig. 18 – Prop roots (racines palmiste) of the Dominica palmiste, used in the weaving of shoulder baskets. [opposite p. 547]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

PORTULACACEAE. Purslane Family. 824x

Portulaca oleracea Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 445. 1753.
Purslane. — Coupié, Pourpier.

A cosmopolitan weed of gardens and waste lands throughout the temperate and tropical regions of the world.

The boiled leaves of coupié are eaten by the Caribs (and the Creoles) as a green vegetable, but they are also employed as a plaster or poultice on the loins in order to ease backache or painful menstruation. For the latter purpose the leaves are often mixed with kudjuruk (*Peliceria alliacea*). [262] [278] [841]

Specimen citation: 107 (T).

ANNONACEAE. Custard-apple Family.

Annona muricata Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 536. 1753.
Soursop. — Corossol. — **walépana** (cf. Taino **wanábana**).

A familiar tree of the West Indies and grown throughout the tropics for its fruit which is used as a table fruit or more often to make delicious sorbetes or to flavor ice cream.

Cultivated specimens supply the Caribs with a source of a refreshing fruit juice which is used as an unfermented drink. A fermented drink formerly was prepared from chewed up fruits. The fruit is believed to induce lactation in women if, 1) eaten alone; 2) if used locally as a poultice; or 3) if used as one ingredient in a tea which also includes a momben leaf (*Spondias mombin*), two leaves of 'ti baume (*Hyptis atrorubens*), three leaves of trois quarts (*Passiflora* sp.) and a fruit of kurupum (*Myrcia citrifolia*). A painful retroverted uterus (called « mal de mère ») is treated with a tea made from three leaves of corossol, two leaves of bois cassave (*Cornutia pyramidata*), and one sprig of l'anis (*Anethum graveolens*). A tea supposed to cure gonorrhea has included in its preparation a piece of the root of the corossol (see *Solanum torvum*); while a ritual tea used against diarrhea also employs leaves of corossol (see *Ocimum micranthum*). The fruit must not be eaten by those going fishing as it would prevent [272] [273] [853] 278 824x [226]

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

824 X 252

ókoho (w)] settles to the bottom of this poisonous liquid (« manioc water »). Today manioc water is usually thrown away but its poisonous principle may be removed by boiling. If this is done the manioc water is reduced to a thick, brown, gravy-like substance (*siúti*) which forms the basis, of the well-known « cassareep » (*tumáli*) sauce.

At this stage the grated, squeezed manioc may be mixed with spices and sugar and boiled in little leaf-packets to form a sort of pudding which goes by the name of canki (Creole) or *káiti* (Carib?). Usually, however, grated manioc is made into farine or cassave by baking on a large griddle known as a platine [*butáli* (m), *búrolet* (w)]. In farine making grated manioc is kept from coagulating by constant stirring with a crude wooden paddle, or palette, and this action causes the formation of a coarse flour (farine), to which the mouchasse (starch) may or may not be added. In cassave making grated manioc is patted into round flat cakes (cassavas) which average 9-15 inches in diameter and ¼–½ inches in thickness.

824 X 273

Until recently a beer (*uéku*) was prepared from specially thick, baked, and slightly burnt cassavas. To make the beer, cassava cakes were sweetened and then chewed by the women. The resultant quid was then spat into a trough to which boiled manioc water, broken-up cassavas (and sometimes pounded, boiled sweet potatoes), and some water were added. Fermentation was completed in the course of two or three days and the fermented mixture, known as *sákuti* (meaning « chewed ») was then strained through a sifter or a specially constructed conical basket, more water being added in the process.

Specimen citation: 148 (T), 149 (T), 150 (T).

824 X

Phyllanthus spp.

Graines En Bas Feuilles, Parasol 'Goutis [39].

[278 447]

Several weedy species of this genus occur in Dominica.

The Island Carib makes a tea from the whole plant and uses it as an abortive agent.

Specimen citation: 142 (T), 155 (T), 572, 574, 575, 576.

[39] *Selaginella flabellata* (L.) Spring, with a growth form similar to these weedy species of *Phyllanthus*, is also called parasol 'goutis in Dominica.

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

trunk of the tree. Bird-limes are also obtained from other species including the immigrant breadfruit [*Artocarpus altilis* (Park.) Fosb.], whose white sap must be mixed with oil; and Parali (*Clusia plukenetii*) whose white sticky sap is definitely inferior as far as this use is concerned. Sticks (about 1 ½ feet long) for fire-drills were formerly cut from the wood of la glu (also from *Bixa orellana*). According to BRETON (7) sparks, used to ignite dried moss or rotten wood, were produced by twirling one stick in a notch cut in the other. The Hercules beetle (*Dinastes* sp.) is found in rotting trunks of la glu. These huge insects, called *anrchire*, are caught either as a curiosity or for sale to tourists.

Specimen citation: 3362.

ANACARDIACEAE. Cashew Family.

Anacardium occidentale Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 383. 1753.

Cashew. Pomme Noix. — *dlui, dlui, drui.*

The cashew is a characteristic spreading tree of the West Indies and continental tropical America. It is often cultivated for its fruit, but occurs in a natural state in Dominica at lower elevations.

The swollen receptacle of the fruit is edible and refreshing, and is the source of a juice formerly fermented by the Caribs to make a drink. The kernel or nut is eaten after being roasted. From the leathery fruit-coat a caustic and poisonous oil is obtained which is used either as a cure for dartres, or as a stain or marking ink.

Specimen citation: 660, 3344.

Spondias mombin Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 371. 1753.

Spondias lutea Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. ed. 2. 613. 1762.

Hog Plum. — Monben, Mombin. — *dibu, hdibu, mdibl.*

A tree of tropical America frequent in Dominica at lower elevations. The yellow, pleasantly acid fruits of this species are the «myrobalans» of the Columbian voyages. In Jamaica and elsewhere the hog plum is used in the construction of live fences while the strong but light wood is used as a cork substitute (18).

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

Caribs eat the fruits of the monben and formerly used them to prepare a fermented drink. The fruits are also believed to induce lactation but it is uncertain how they are employed. Inflamed or swollen joints are claimed to be cured by exposing them to the fumes of the burning kernels of monben fruits. A tea used to treat sore throat is made from either the leaves or seeds. Momben leaves are one ingredient in a special purging tea given after parturition (see *Jatropha* spp.), as well as in another tea used to induce lactation in women (see *Annona muricata*).

SAPINDACEAE. Soapberry Family.

Cardiospermum halicacabum Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 366. 1753. Batard Persil.

An herbaceous climbing vine growing in tropical regions throughout the world.

The leaves of batard persil are crushed in water by the Caribs to make what is said to be a refreshing and cooling drink.

Specimen citation: 3289.

Sapindus saponaria Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 367. 1753.
Sapindus inaequalis DeCandolle, Prodr. 1: 608. 1824.
Soapberry, Soap Tree. — Bois Savonette [37]. — *filiej* (m), *lilaru* (w).

A tree of lower elevations found in the West Indies and in continental tropical America.

The fruits of the soapberry may be used for washing purposes, and in various parts of the Antilles the seeds are strung to make necklaces.

Dominica's Caribs employ the bark («scales») of *Sapindus saponaria* for soap while a concentrated decoction of the bark is reputed to stop dysentery.

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

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[37] Not to be confused with two other Dominica trees, *Leachocarpus* sp. and *Pithecellobium jupunba*, also called bois savonette.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

tropical origin and was grown in the Americas in pre-Columbian time, its exact homeland is unknown. Columbus saw sweet potatoes for the first time in the West Indies where they were grown apparently by Carib and Arawak (69).

Many types of sweet potatoes are cultivated in the Carib Reserve, but the red watery variety, often erroneously termed « yam » in the United States, is most popular. From this form of sweet potato a sort of beer used to be made either with or without the addition of cassava. Thirty years ago sweet potatoes were much more extensively grown by the Caribs, and today seem to have been largely displaced by taniers (*Xanthosoma* spp.), dasheen (*Colocasia esculenta*), and yams (*Dioscorea* spp.).

Specimen citation: no herbarium material collected.

Ipomoea pes-caprae (Linnaeus) Roth, Nov. Sp. 109. 1821. Beach Morning-Glory. — Patate Bord la Mer. — *kaikule*.

A creeping herbaceous vine, common as a pioneer halophyte on coastal sands throughout the Old and New World tropics.

The leaves of patate bord la mer are ingredients of several different ritual baths used by the Caribs for various purposes. One such bath utilizing this plant is described under *Ocimum micranthum*. Another bath effective for any sickness caused by piai utilizes, in addition to the leaves of patate bord la mer and the root of gingembre douleur (*Hedychium coronarium*), the leaves of the following plants:

acacia (no specimens seen but undoubtedly a local species of *Acacia* or *Mimosa*).
chardon bâni (*Eryngium foetidum*).
figuier (*Ficus* sp.).
honteuse (*Mimosa pudica*).
kré kré trembleur (tree specimen not seen but definitely *Melastomaceae* and probably a *Miconia*, species of which are known in Dominica as kré kré).
kuljuruk (*Petiveria alliacea*).
larali (*Clusia pluknetii*).
mabinon (*Lonchocarpus sonorae*).
mabo pimant (*Daphnopsis caribaea*).
malbruk (*Piper* spp.).
mal l'estomac (*Piper* spp.).
pipe zandoli (unidentified but possibly *Aristolochia ungulicida* DC.).
poirier blanc (*Tabebuia pallida*).
roi bois (*Pseudocarpidium martinicense*).
roku (*Bixa orellana*).
sou marque (*Cassia bicapsularis*).
'ti banane (*Hyptis atrorubens*).
wawet (an unidentified marine seaweed).
yam jaune (*Dioscorea cayennensis*).

Specimen citation: 810, 2960.